1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

The consciousness of the breaking of a tapu is clear from the man's remark in this about that his love for his *usuki atua* is *kai lumanga* (food of shameful abnormality) and, further, *kai uselanga* (incest).

No reference to *usuki atua* incest is found in any of the myths or folktales recorded.

The kinship tapus are best preserved today among the older people. Among the younger generations, several *usuki atua* have married:

In one such marriage, the husband had to wait his grandfather by being secretly married. This was only possible because the Cook Islands Act allows *usuki atua* to marry, and the resident agent had to perform the civil rite. Another marriage occurred just before we left Pukapuka. The bride's mother's brother refused to attend the marriage or to have anything further to do with his classificatory daughter. The groom's father at first objected because he feared the marriage would be sterile, probably owing to the breaking of the tapu, and his descent line depended on issue to the marriage. His fear was increased by the fact that though his son had been courting the bride for several years, no child had been born. The father finally yielded to the entreaties of missionary friends. Wiseacres predict that the marriage will be sterile, which is the very least that can be hoped for, apart altogether from visitations of sickness.

No purpose is served by traversing at this stage the actual functioning of the kinship system. It presents no features that call for special comment. Economic obligations associated with kinship relationships are discussed elsewhere. Similarly the importance of the kinship group in personal ceremonial is mentioned in the description of rites at birth, marriage, and death.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

Conception

Conception is known as *te tuhaitinga o te tama* (the placing in of the child). The period of gestation is called *te tuhailihianga* or *te ihonga*. The primary meaning of the word *iho* is "to germinate" as in the sentence: "Ko te mena ko iho ai te tama" (it is the semen which makes the child germinate). The following is a typical explanation of conception given by a woman informant:

Conception involves an organ (*manea*) in both the male and female (*manea* is given elsewhere as meaning "lung"). The male secretion enters the female *manea*, the female secretion enters the male *manea*. The informant was unable to specify the exact location of this organ, though she thought the native practitioners would know. On being pressed to indicate the locus of the *manea* in her own body, she pointed to her stomach and said the *manea* was close to it. She knew that it is the semen that germinates the ovum, but could give no rationalization as to the method. She also said that it is the *manea* which generates the male and female secretions, and should this organ dry up, as it often does, then the person affected becomes thin and sickly, suffering from debility. This is a common disease in Pukapuka according to informant, one cause of which is too frequent copulation. Five or six times in succession on the same day or night, informant explained, would be too frequent.

The theory of conception was discussed with Pau, a native medicine man. His theory is that the semen of the man congeals the blood in the uterus of the woman. This

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

591 child, the parent, or one of the friends. The young men or women used their house as
575 a lounging and sleeping house while continuing to eat their meals with their parents, to assist them in the general tasks of food getting. A parent who did not want his child to leave home would tell his child's friends to betake themselves elsewhere.

593 For the most part, young men and women stayed at home, lived with their parents, and assisted with the tasks of the family. A child who stayed at home was a *tama pili matua* (child close to parent). A favorite child (*tama wakacmaema*, *tama yele*, or *mayui*) was never permitted to live in a young men's house, especially if the parents, wishing to make a good marriage for the child, had gone to the trouble of graduating it from the house of seclusion. On the other hand, wayward children were not hindered if they wished to live with their friends. Residence in a young men's or young women's house was continued until marriage or until vagaries of personal choice sent the young person back to live with relatives. The present resident
177 agent in the interests of morality does not allow unmarried young people to
591 reside in young men's or women's houses, and this type of living arrangement has been officially discarded.

CULTURAL ATTITUDES TOWARD SEX

582 Once a Pukapukan boy or girl has attained adult status, he or she is at
836 liberty to have sexual experience irrespective of marriage, which indeed usually comes much later in the life of the adult and only when he is ready
831 to assume the specific economic responsibilities that marriage entails. It is a matter of no importance that a girl or a bride should be a virgin. There is no word in the language to characterize such a physiological state. Rather has a woman who has borne a child out of wedlock by this act proved herself able to bear her husband heirs to carry on his paternal descent line. A girl for whom parents wished a particularly good marriage found a certain but minor emphasis on the importance of preserving virginity, but this was more a matter of preventing her from attaining a reputation for being promiscuous than a matter of interest in her virginity. That the sacred maid (*mayukitanga*) of the chief was barred from sexual intercourse of any nature throughout her life was perhaps due to the religious functions she had to perform and was, at any rate, exceptional.

833 For the ordinary girl there is nothing in Pukapuka approaching the in-
864 stitutionalized rupturing of the hymen by an elder which occurs elsewhere in Polynesia, nor is there any institutionalized instruction of the adolescent in sex matters. Knowledge was obtained by the boy or girl through personal experimentation with members of the opposite sex. Informants remarked that a virgin who wishes to save her lover the trouble will digitally rupture her own hymen before going to him. But this is a matter of individual choice.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

833 836 The cultural attitude is that the man is and should be the aggressor in initiating sexual experience, the woman the passive agent. Molingi, the informant consulted most freely about these matters, expressed the feeling of cultural disapproval when she stated that most girls of her acquaintance are bad (*kino*) because they are *wia eia* (run after men). She stated that some of these girls have sexual intercourse before the menses occur, but they are exceptional. Molingi distinguished between those girls who are really promiscuous (*wia eia*) and those who have but one or two lovers. She attached 837 no moral blame to married men who cohabit with unmarried girls, but placed 853 all the blame on the girls. Whereas the term *wia eia* is theoretically applicable to men, it is in fact applied only to women, which again indicates that the man is the rightful aggressor. If the role is reversed by a woman, the man is considered helpless and blameless; disapproval is reserved for the woman, and no regard is paid to deviant personalities which may be unable to conform to the cultural standard.

833 The story of Wanguna (p. 386) tells of a woman who led all the men of the island astray through her aggressive sexual behavior and thus provoked 837 the wrath of the gods to send the seismic wave. Where historical narrative notes that a man led the women of the island astray (story of Waletiale, 1), there is no mention of the anger of the gods being directed against him, even though he is eventually killed by a group of irate husbands. The periods of license that sometimes accompanied the chanting and dancing after fishing and wrestling competitions of former days were excused by some informants on the grounds that it was invariably the women who became worked up to such a pitch of emotional excitement that they would tear off the garments of the men. This is commented on by passages in the chants.

831 The general attitude toward sex on the part of both children and adults is that it is a pleasurable play activity. Save obscurely in the case of the sacred maid, there appears to be no connection between sexual practices and typical religious complexes, nor is there any association between ideas of fertility and patterns of religious behavior. The word for copulation among animals is the same as the common word applied to humans, *konikoni*. Attention is frequently directed by adult and child to the copulation of 822 domestic animals, particularly ducks or chickens. A group of people sit and watch the behavior of these animals, not with curiosity, but with an attitude of sympathetic interest and a realistic appreciation of what is happening. A typical comment made after ducks have copulated is the call to the male duck: "Te mokoia e, to tile ko tautau ki te kilikili (O duck, your penis is dragging on the ground). Both children and adults laugh heartily at this 831 witticism.

Though in general there is no fear attitude associated with relations between the two sexes, nevertheless sickness may be transmitted from one

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

831 person to another in sexual intercourse. If a sick woman has intercourse
153 with a man she gives him her sickness because, in native theory, her secretions
839 (*vale tuu*) enter into his internal organs by absorption through the penis. Diseases that are spread in this way are mainly swelling in various parts of the body, but pains in the stomach and other minor ailments may also be communicated. A married couple with children rarely have intercourse within the sleeping house, not because they object to the children's seeing them, but because of the danger in possible contact of the child with secretions on mats, which would give the child illness and limb swelling.

834 Various terms are applied to individuals who show peculiarities in sexual behavior. An impotent individual is a *tangata malueka*, which also means a person lazy or slow in economic activities. A man who changes mistresses frequently is a *tangata maka wawine* (thrower away of women). It is said of him: "I te wakapau wawine" (He is a woman waster or finisher). An over-sexed man or woman is *nio toto* (bloody teeth) or *kai vaka* (canoe eater). Of the promiscuous (*wia eia*) woman it is said: "Ko tuku wua i tona wu yaka yua" (She places her vagina at anyone's disposal to be poured into). A husbandless woman who runs after married men is *lakau taetae* (stick or penis gatherer). A man or woman who settles down after a period of freedom to a monogamous existence is described as *na wia* (having had enough).

839 Perversions, in the sense of sexual practices that take the place of sexual intercourse, are probably unknown in Pukapuka. This is without prejudice to acts or feeling attitudes that may accompany ontogenetic character development in the strict analytic sense but which, even if they occur, may not
838 properly be classed as perversions. There is no word in Pukapukan speech
159 to indicate homosexuality, nor could informants say that it ever occurred. At present there is one youth in Yato village who is said to *wakawawine* (be like a woman):

[521 161] Between 16 and 17 years old, he appears fully developed physically but has a rather effeminate high-pitched voice. He wears men's clothes. He does not stroll about the village as do other young men who congregate first in one open house, then in another, for gossip. He keeps very much to his own house lot, where he is often in the company of women. He performs general women's work, makes plaited and beaded objects, sews more than is usual for a male, and cooks. He also does a little men's work, fishing, nut gathering and husking, and sennit making. He occasionally wrestles with other men but does not participate in most sports. Peculiarities in his behavior are noticed by fellow villagers but not commented upon openly. He still attends school and is popular with his schoolmates. He showed the greatest possible reserve in our presence and we were unable to become friendly with him.

832 There is no evidence of the use of love magic. Informants with whom
833 the matter was discussed thought the idea absurd. Their attitude was that it was not difficult for any man to secure a mistress; there was then no use for special magical techniques. With their concept of sex as a play activity,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

informants felt any woman is just as interested in playing as a man, and apart from natural antipathies no difficulty arises in securing favors from the woman of one's choice.

The only account in the folk tales of what may be interpreted as the use of love magic occurs in the story of an oversexed and greedy man named Vavaka, priest of the god Te Atua Vaelua:

> Vavaka was extremely fond of grated green nut flesh (*niu kalokalo*) and spent each day making large quantities of the food. This became a matter for ridicule by the women and girls of the community, who would pass by his door making fun of him and his food. Vavaka resolved to have his revenge upon the women. When night fell, he went to gather *nau*, *uetau*, *kaupua*, and *tiale* flowers, brought them to his house, and made "the thing" for his god (*nei ake te mea a tona atua*). He gave the preparation (*uouoga*) to his god and prayed: "O Vaelua, take you the spirit of the woman here, she is a difficult woman, a woman besides, who dislikes me. You take her to your fragrant *lales* (*o vaka kakala*) to tame her spirit (*vakalata i tana mauli*) so that your priest here may go and try to wake her by his shaking, and if she wakes not, then let your priest have intercourse with this woman." Later in the night Vavaka went to the woman. He enjoyed her and when he left he said, "Ongalonga!" (There, I have got even with you). On other nights Vavaka visited other women who had shamed him. Then he desired married women, and again he prayed to his god to take the spirit of the married woman and her husband to the fragrant *lales*, so that he could sleep with the woman without her knowledge. Vavaka finished his prayer and ran to the house of the woman. With his knife of *pala* jawbone he slit the mosquito net in the region of the woman's genitals and enjoyed her. Then he boasted as before, "Ongalonga e te tama kaungata" (I have got even with the difficult child). Then in after days Vavaka would sneer and taunt the women saying, "Even though you just walk on the land, my fishhook (for catching women) is large enough to catch you."

The magic employed in this story seems to have consisted of a gift of fragrant flowers to the god, the implication being that the god would lull the senses of the intended victim with the scent of the flowers, or else, more obscurely, that the god would transport the spirit of the victim to an island where the scents were as fragrant as the flowers. The lovemaking of Vavaka was crude and wild, but he was animated only by motives of revenge for ridicule cast at him.

A study of the chants (1) indicates that although sex is treated in Pukapuka with extreme realism, nevertheless the sexual relation is not one of crude realism. Feelings of affection and beauty enter into relations between the sexes, and in the love chants (*kupu*) the composer is always at pains to indicate his feelings for his mistress by a variety of metaphors:

> The woman, for example, is compared to beautiful white pearl-shell fishhooks, she is as straight and beautiful as a perfect canoe log, she is as handsome as foreign people and as fair, she is as beautiful as the flowering buds of the coconut tree or the scarlet flowers of the *vaikawaro* tree; her body is fat as the delicious albacore fish. Again, her skin is as smooth and shiny as the side of a new canoe adzed by the expert, the *tiwa* marks on her skin are like the rows of morning stars, her eyebrows are fashioned smooth as the feathers of the tropic bird, the inside of her thighs is bright as the flash of lightning or the gleam of the moon, her voice is like the beautiful crying of the white "rat" (cat). Associations of the genitals of the man or the woman with beautiful objects

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

831 832 835 abound in the chants. The pubic hair is said to be soft and dark, like the feathers of the tropic bird; it is smooth, black and indistinct like a grove of trees seen from afar. The woman's genitals are compared to the inside of a well-made canoe, to delicious fish flesh, to other symbolic objects of the environment. The penis is likened to a hot burning sun, or to a beautiful gold-lipped pearl-shell hook which is entrapped by the jaws of a fish. Some of these comparisons may appear far-fetched or slightly ridiculous to the European reader, but there is no reason to believe that the Pukapukan lover does not gain genuine pleasure from the association of lovemaking with objects which to him are things of great beauty and give rise to aesthetic feelings.

INTERCOURSE

833 According to Molingi, sexual intercourse occurs equally by day and by night. Most adulterous intercourse is by day. While a woman is at work, her [837 husband goes off to the bush on some excuse; while her husband fishes, a 832] woman goes to the bush, ostensibly to get talo, but also to meet a lover. Before arranged meetings the lovers bathe, cover the body with sweet-scented oil, and adorn themselves with sweet-smelling leis. Often they meet on a section of the outer beach after dark. To make a lover's bed (*lava*) among the bushes that fringe the beach, they strip coconut-leaf midribs from a tree, split them into two, and place the half midribs on the ground with the leaflets pointing inward, the midribs lying on the outside. Leaves of the *ngayu* bush or *kotawa* fern may also be used for the *lava* bed. If lovers meet at the same place frequently, they leave there a coconut-leaf mat (*takapau*) to be used instead of the rough bed of leaves.

Informants knew of no physical stimulants which might be used for heightening sexual excitement. Foreplay in the sexual act is described in the love chants (1). These chants also give the most elaborate native terminology for all phases of the sex act. The couple sit facing each other, 833 the man with his legs folded under him, the woman with her legs resting on 533 his thighs. In intercourse the man lies on top of the woman. Chanting before or after copulation, as part of the fore- or after-play, is a well-established phase of the sex experience. Old women all agreed that chanting should not accompany the sex act, but they felt that it should take place before the act; in this opinion they were supported by men informants. A group of younger women held strongly that chanting should be after the act. Undoubtedly both views represent current practice, but the opinion of old women may refer to a more general situation in former times. Both lovers chant together an old love song, or the man chants one of his own composition to his mistress.

833 After intercourse, for the sake of cleanliness and to remove from the person all traces of intercourse before proceeding back to the village, the woman always, and usually also the man, bathes in the sea.

The coming together of more than two people at the same place for the enjoyment of sexual relations was common in Pukapuka. Groups of young

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

833 girls and boys went together in the evening to the outer beach. There they played for a time and then paired off to copulate. That preferences and jealousies might sometimes wreck the happiness of these parties is well illustrated in case histories. The occurrence of periods of license after the chanting and dancing over the village sporting triumph is well authenticated from references in the chants. Married men and women and unmarried young people were all mixed together on these dance occasions. No tapus seem to have been observed save those for related kin. Intercourse on these occasions seems usually, but not always, to have been under the friendly cover of darkness, on any space near or on the dance ground. On certain other occasions, as at the end of the day when the canoes returned from a fishing competition, the women went to the beach to meet the men, and a period of wild lovemaking followed, all the more enjoyable because the men and women had been chaste for five or six days before and during the contest. It was customary during this license for women of one paternal lineage in the village to select lovers from among men of the other lineages in the same village.

833 At one time, if not throughout the history of Pukapuka, places were set
177 aside where groups of people of both sexes would repair for sexual intercourse. The Pukapukan name for these places and for the group of people who sought enjoyment in them is *ati*. After contact between Pukapuka and Yayake, where these copulation groups were a highly developed institution, the Yayake name, *yau*, was borrowed and superseded the Pukapukan name. Each *yau* was presided over by an organizer and general guard (*taumatua*) after whom the group was named. The *taumatua* protected the members of the *yau* against unwelcome interference by jilted lovers or irate husbands. Men and women went to the *yau*, chanted and danced together, and had sexual intercourse. The place on Wale where the champion Waletiale once conducted his *yau* (1) is still pointed out.

837 In view of the freedom of sex experience before and after marriage in
152 Pukapukan culture, the question arises as to the incidence of jealousy in former times. From hints obtained from old stories, it is evident that jealousy was a frequent emotion of the spouse, but that the amount of jealousy stirred up depended almost entirely on the personalities involved. The classic expression of the culture pattern seems to be contained in the story of the visit of Te Palo to Pukapuka. When Pukapukan husbands discovered that Te Palo had been secretly visiting their wives, they were angry with him. But Te Palo reasoned with them: "There is nothing to it. My comings to your wives were comings only to scratch your women who are established so nicely in Pukapuka. Are you going to get angry for nothing?" The ideas which had angered the men subsided under this reasoning.

It would seem therefore that culturally there was no place for jealousy.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

dren by various lovers after she realizes her cultural position. She will live with relatives who will welcome the arrival of her children and will care for them with every attention. Her status without a husband in the community will hardly suffer, and she will not be morally condemned in any way. Her lovers will be unmarried or divorced or widowed men. As long as she does not welcome married men to her arms, she will remain a respected member of the group. Only if she becomes a husband stealer (*lakau taetae*) is she likely to run up against the intense disapproval of the married women.

A bachelor is referred to by the descriptive phrase, *kili pipilo* (bad-smelling skin), or *hiko hakavu* (bitter flesh). There is no name for the bachelor status in relation to marital life, and such a status is outside the norm. Two very old men, one in Ngake, one in Loto, have never married; and one man in Yato of about 35 years is still unmarried. Besides these three there are only two deaf-mute males who will not marry. Of the two old men, informant felt that there was perhaps some truth in the descriptive phrases used of them. The younger bachelor helps to support his married sister and her large family; he may yet marry. There is no suggestion that any of these men is not normal psychologically or physically.

COURTSHIP

Patterns of courtship differ when individuals have in view a permanent relationship leading to marriage and when they intend a semi-permanent liaison or the pleasure of an evening only. Patterns also differ for relations between two unmarried persons and between a married person with one other than the socially recognized spouse.

A young man or woman is expected to enter into a temporary liaison as soon as he or she has completed the adulthood rite. In fact, one informant, Iti, stated that the girl's rite itself included the girl's first sexual experience.

The regular parading of the girls in the evening up and down the village street on the look-out for lovers and possible marriage mates was apparently a common custom in the days before the curfew sounded in Pukapuka.

Some men preferred to arrange meetings with girls through an intermediary. This custom was not common. The intermediary was called *kaisia* (messenger), *tangata tuku poloaki* (meeting arranger), or simply *yoo* (friend). The friend visited the girl to give her the message (*poloaki*), naming the meeting place. Stories indicate that the use of an intermediary was often as dangerous as it was helpful to the lover's success.

Some permanent and semi-permanent liaisons are sealed by the exchange of gifts between the two lovers (*ipo*). These gifts are termed *vakotapu*, a word applied only to such presents. An intermediary effects the exchange, taking a present to the girl and receiving from her a gift of talo for her lover. The intermediary keeps some food for himself in payment for his

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

226 At the end of each day's fishing the canoes come ashore; the fish are taken to the village meeting place; the head, gills, and heart of each fish are preserved as a record, and the body of the fish given out to housewives to cook for the feast on the third day. The count for fish is as follows: albacore, bonito, *pala*, *kawaki*, and mango fish count one each; one female turtle counts as one fish, but a female turtle with eggs counts as one fish plus one fish extra for each egg she carries. Hence a female turtle may count as high as 140 fish, and the village fortunate enough to make this catch is almost sure to win. A male turtle formerly counted as 30 fish, but owing to recent dispute this has been lowered to 10 fish.

The return of the canoes is accompanied by great animation. The villagers gather on the beach to watch the canoes land. It is dusk and coconut-leaf torches light up the scene. Children sport in the shallows and cry out excitedly whenever a canoe returns with a good haul. There are many disputes as to the total village count of fish and rumors of the fish counts from the other two villages. (On the second day excitement quiets down only when a band of young men comes racing back from a visit to the other villages with definite news of scores. Formerly when the canoes were beached,
833 it was permissible for the women to taunt and joke with the men in the fullest freedom, and under cover of the dark to pilfer out lovers and slip away with them to the bush. Single and married men participated in this freedom, and no after-complaint about an erring spouse received any attention. Old chants carry reference to these occasions of permissible freedom in sexual relations (1).

5774 On the third day the people gather together for the feast divisions. Fish from all
553 three villages, together with a levy of 10 mats for each adult and much prepared taro,
621 are placed in a pile and divided among the lineage groups in each village. The winning village spends the day chanting songs of insulting and glorifying nature and doing appropriate dances. The chanters are dressed in leaf decorations according to village tradition.

186 Losing a fishing contest is due to breaking the taboo governing the pre-contest prohibition period, or to adultery on the part of the women left in the villages, or women's quarrels, gadding about, and laziness at mat making and domestic tasks while the men are not present. The women are supposed to be especially industrious while the men
226 are fishing, and if a man comes home and learns from gossip that his wife has been idling about, he is justified in beating her for having thus prevented final luck. In an-
877 other exhibition fishing contest in which Yato won, Hikahenifer of Ngake women
461 was given as the cause for Ngake's defeat. Loto was defeated for this reason too and also because of antisocial conduct on the part of some fishermen in the division of fish. Instead of taking all fish caught to the village meeting place to be divided, individual fishermen kept back fish for the sale use of their families. (One man also removed an *kakai* head from the fish pile without waiting for the decision of the feast dividers. It was suggested by informants in the other villages that this behavior was so disgraceful that it was doubtful whether Loto village would win a fishing contest for many years to come.

Mat-making Contests

621 In former times women held mat-making contests ((*matagaga fonga*).
285 A day was fixed for the starting of the plaiting. The village that first finished the required number of mats was the winner of the contest. The number of mats was specified beforehand. They were of a standard size with decorative borders added if desired, though the contest was primarily one for speed. The winning village had the privilege of making a grand parade through the villages, showing off the mats (*liahi ne fonga*) and chanting as they did so.

Of Wekeli

539 [833] The Pukapukan attitude that the man is and should be the aggressor in initiating sexual experience is clearly brought out in this story of Wekeli where disregard of the pattern gives rise to unmistakable resentment.

Yia was a member of the paternal sublineage Kimuli, part of the larger lineage grouping of Tua. He was fascinated with a woman named Wekeli and arranged a love meeting with her under the cluster of yamuti trees at the point Mata-yauma on the islet of Kotawa. Wekeli carefully prepared for the meeting by bathing and oiling her skin with sweet-scented coconut oil. The lovers met. Wekeli was so pleased with her experience that she became very bold, asking Yia to meet her on another day. Yia was taken aback by this forward attitude and his resentment broke out: "You wretch, you bold person", he replied to Wekeli, "you are never satisfied. Do not come near me again. You have had all you will get. Your words sound bad, so bad that the men of the island, and the women too, would get angry if they knew of them."

Stories of adultery

538 837 762 The stories of adultery describe the supernormal or secular punishment for illicit sex relations and are an expression of the cultural patterning of the treatment of such conduct. The story of Tawaia is aberrant however; the narrator is at pains to make the point that the man who was strictly monogamous was something of an exceptional person in the Pukapukan society of the time. A surface disapproval of illicit sex relations is evidently accompanied by the knowledge that the ideal is too difficult to attain. It is clear from the stories that divorce or punishment by supernormal powers is sufficient punishment for adultery. When Te Anga in his anger punished his erring wife with every refinement of sadistic torture, his actions were subjected to general group disapproval, but no one, not even the family of the wife, considered it his duty to interfere between the man and his wife. This story also gives a good example of a person so shamed by some event that the only recourse left to preserve self-respect was suicide. Most of these stories are probably comparatively old. These characters who can be placed on a genealogical table belong to the period immediately after the seismic wave in the reigns of Maina, Tuliayanga, or Tuiva.

[832] 11. (continued) pressed against the flesh. There is no English word or concept into which the Pukapukan word yongi may be adequately translated.

192 826 Names for the teeth are the same for upper and lower jaws:

wisdom tooth	ngao tautawa
first molar	te lua o te ngao
second molar	te ngao o te lolotonu
bicuspid	te ngao openga
canine	te ngao nio
incisor	te nio
two front upper incisors	te nio pala ta
upper set of teeth	atu ngao ki lunga
lower set of teeth	atu ngao ki lalo
milk teeth	te ngao tamaliki

192 833 839 III. Miscellaneous sexual terms:

sexual excitement	waka mitamita
cunilingualism	kai tole
fellatio	kai ule
berdache	wakawawine (descriptive)
buggery	tokotoko
masturbation	mulimuli ..... to rub organs is milimili

192 513 IV. Types of sleep:

itching or scratching sleep	moe kinikini
bad sleep or nightmare	moe kino
restless sleep (as of a pregnant woman)	moe kinokino
to sleep on the side with legs folded over each other	moe kokopi
to sleep curled up	moe wakakukukuku
good deep sleep	moe leka
day-dreaming	moe manatu
to sleep with one eye open	moe mata tai
to sleep anxiously dreaming of the morrow	moe wakamiti
to sleep sitting up	moe no
to sleep close to another person	moe wakapipiki
to sleep hugging another person	moe pulupulu

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ 11 Pukapuka OZ 11

159 I went to the bush with Ono and talked to him. He
584 asked me to go to Motu Ko, to the reserve islet of Ngake
836 village, when the people went there to make copra, instead of staying at home and going with the villagers of Lotc to their reserve of Uta. Because my mother and step-father were Ngake villagers I could go with them to Motu Ko without causing comment and in this way I could meet Ono. I arranged this and met Ono the first night we spent at the copra village. I had intercourse with Ono that night. I was frightened this first time. Ono told me it might hurt but it didn't. We met in a place where there were no other people present. Except during my periods we had intercourse every night, four, three, or two times a night. That is not very often. A woman can keep it up as long as, or longer than a man. We were very young and enjoyed our nightly visits to the deserted places on the outer beach. After we returned from the reserve I continued to see Ono in the bush. Then my mother died and soon afterwards we were married.

[833]

159 I do not remember much about Ono when he was a boy. When I would go swimming with my girl friends in the pool I often saw Ono there swimming with the boys. I think I fancied him then. He was not like the other boys. He did not come near me in the pool and I liked him for not doing this. What attracted me about him was his height. He was very tall for a Pukapukan and he had a lot of brown hair. Maybe he was like my father but I don't remember this.

159 We were married in 1918. Ono died in 1929. We never
593 quarrelled and he was always very good to me. I was never unfaithful to him and he never went with other women. Maybe I have said only the best about him, because now I begin to recall our life together I remember that he had a terrible temper. He whipped me once with a stick when he was unjustly suspicious of my visits to the bush to get *taro* from my gardens. All men whip their wives at one time or another, all Pukapukan men, at any rate, because they are very suspicious; but Ono did not do it very much to me, and I suppose that is why I at first forgot it. Ono's father lived with us for a while. Then Ono quarrelled with the old man,

[837]

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ11 Pukapuka OZ11

who was easily angered, and he went to live in another house.

After we had been married for some time Ono told me to have a child. I was afraid I could not. I thought that my mind was not sufficiently set on having a child. But after two years I bore a son. I wanted the first child to be a girl, Ono wanted a boy. We had intercourse almost every night without exception right up to the time that labor pains set in. The delivery was hard. It lasted a day, a night, and until noon the next day. Ono helped me with his arms, holding me and giving me all the support I needed. My milk came in three days. It was plentiful. We waited for a month after the delivery until the blood and water had dried up before having intercourse again. The second child, a boy, and the third, a girl, came along after this and I cannot remember anything special. Our fourth child, a boy, died after he had reached the crawling stage. Soon after the birth of the fifth child, another boy, Ono died.

We buried Ono in his family cemetery. Not long after this, Witu, whose wife was dead, came to court me as did many other men. They thought that I would make a good wife for them because I had so many children. I did not like the way the men came to the house at night because I thought the children would wake and see us together. When Witu asked me to marry him I agreed because I wanted someone to be a father to my children. Witu had had a son by his first wife but the child was dead. I took my children and went to live in Witu's house, the house where we are living now down by the pond. Witu is a good husband to me. He is never angry. He is always pleasant. He is a good fisherman. He is a good lover. These two babies that I have now, they are Witu's sons. He is delighted with them. That is why you always see him playing with them if he is home when you come to our house.